1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
SA15 Mosquito SA15

DELIVERY.—Only females are present at childbirth, the elder or more experienced ones acting as midwives. The methods employed to hasten delivery are in general very brutal, and they lead occasionally to the death of both mother and child. One of the befriended persons present severs the navel string with the aid of a sharpened piece of bamboo or a wood splinter, and then ties it with a cotton thread. In virtue of this act she will henceforth be considered as a blood relation to the newborn child and the latter's parents as well, and they call each other reciprocally *lapya* or *lakpya*. This corresponds loosely to the *compadre* and *comadre* system of the Ladinos. The *lapya* appears to have been limited in former days to the Miskito, but lately it has spread to the other tribes of the Mosquito Coast—Sumu, Rama, and Paya. The afterbirth is buried by one of the women as soon as it is expelled. The same is also done with the umbilical cord, in order to prevent pigs, dogs, or other animals from eating it up, which may result in sickness or death for the baby.

COUVADE.—Traces of the couvade may be observed among both Miskito and Sumu. During the first days of the newborn child the father will refrain from hard work and keep out of the bush. He will also abstain from certain foods and from salt and chili pepper. The mother also has to keep a diet. Exquemelin (Engl. edit.: 253) denies the existence of the couvade among the Miskito, but the actual facts have probably escaped his observation. This author states that the mother bathes her baby at the next river, wraps it up in a *cubalas* (=*kwala* "cloth") and then follows her usual occupation. According to my various informants the bath of the mother and the child is postponed until the third day after delivery. But the mother is considered impure for from one to two weeks longer. After that period has elapsed she may return to her husband, who prepares a feast with food and drink in honor of the baby and the *lapya*.

BIRTHMARKS.—Birthmarks (M. and S.: *wauki*) are ascribed by both tribes to the failure of the mother to obtain during pregnancy a certain article of food for which she had a vehement desire. The Indians supply, if possible, a woman *enciente* with any kind of food for which she may ask. If during that state she should have a craving for a slice of pineapple the husband will do his utmost to procure the fruit. Should the prospective mother learn that it is impossible to obtain it, and then thoughtlessly pass her hand over her head, breast, or arm, the child would be born in due time with the mark of a pineapple at the corresponding part of the body. A somewhat similar belief exists among the ignorant people in large areas in Europe.

A certain skin disease is found sometimes on the newly born child, and is known among the Miskito by the name *dus arbiss* "gnawing of trees." Its origin is traced to the fact that the mother, while *enciente*,

2: Kirchhoff E-4 (no date) 1948
SA15 Mosquito SA15

Among the *Mosquito* and *Sumo* a man who has been wronged is considered a coward if he does not avenge himself. If revenge fails, both the offended man and the perpetrator of the offense are supposed to commit suicide. A thief, when caught, must return double the amount stolen. A creditor may help himself to his debtor's property, or he may destroy the property of a third person, in which case the debtor must pay the damage (*Mosquito*). An adulterous wife is beaten and forced to reveal the name of her lover, who is fined. A murderer is killed, unless he commits suicide, and his memory is dishonored. There is, however, no dishonor in poisoning an enemy, the method employed for most murders. 627 681

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A man and woman may agree to marry, or, more rarely, the girl's parents may make marriage arrangements without her consent. Child betrothals are common. Cross-cousin marriage is frequent, but marriage between parallel-cousins and closer relations is forbidden. *Mosquito* and *Sumo* chiefs and shamans have several wives, and the *Paya* of Río Platano and Río Paulaya practice polygyny, as do the *Jicaque*. 582 [595]

Before marriage a man must pass through various ordeals, pay the bride's family an agreed sum, and prepare a field for his prospective wife. The wedding is a simple ceremony. The levirate and sororate are practiced, and the many possible exceptions to this rule are adjusted by payments. A man may abandon his wife if she is barren. Divorce is accomplished by means of payments to the families of offended parties. The woman always keeps the children. Among numerous relationship taboos are the important mother-in-law taboo and the prohibition on a man's speaking to his sister-in-law and to other close female relatives by marriage. 583 [587] [586] 603

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—The *Paya* and *Mosquito* build special confinement huts; the *Sumo* partition off a corner of the house. During parturition the mother is aided by another woman who cuts the cord with a piece of bamboo. The afterbirth and umbilical cord are buried. Among the *Paya* a midwife is regarded by parents and child as a blood relative. This belief is said to have originated among the *Mosquito* and diffused to the *Sumo* and *Paya*. The second of twins and deformed children are killed (*Mosquito* and *Sumo*). Some female children were killed at birth. 844 [847]

Sumo and *Mosquito* women bathe immediately after bearing a child, *Paya* women on the third day. *Sumo* women take a steam bath but use no special structure; in other tribes they bathe in the river. This bath ends a period of ritual impurity. *Mosquito* women, however, are considered impure for one or two weeks. Women also observe a special diet. The return of the mother to the house is celebrated with a ceremony. 846

2: Kirchhoff E-4 (no date) 1948
SA15 Mosquito SA15

714 Among some tribes, this ceremony is repeated at a later date. The *Sumo* [524] are said to have practiced circumcision. The couvade is general.

[525] Individual names are derived from some peculiarity or mannerism. Such names were not used to address a person, especially older people.

718 Puberty.—Puberty ceremonies consist of tests, the details of which vary from tribe to tribe. *Sumo* boys receive serious military training at puberty.

[526] Menstruating women are considered to be impure and are confined to a corner of the house (*Sumo*) or to a special hut (*Mosquito* and *Paya*). They are cleansed by bathing or, among the *Sumo*, by a steam bath.

763 Death.—Death is thought to be due to sorcery or to the machinations of evil spirits. People about to die are abandoned in the bush, or they may even be killed. If a person dies in a village it has to be abandoned.

764 The dead are usually buried in the dwelling, which is abandoned (*Paya*), or, among some tribes, in a special hut. The corpse is placed in a coffin made of a canoe wrapped in bark cloth. Personal belongings, food, and a dog are placed in the grave. Among the *Mosquito*, corpses were sometimes sewed in a mat and placed upright in a grave, facing the east. Slaves, servants, and sometimes a shaman were killed and buried with *Mosquito* chiefs. Early reports of the mummification of chiefs appear to [532] be exceptional and may refer to other tribes. Clay and gold masks of chiefs are reported from one locality, probably *Sumo*.

765 The dead were mourned in many ways. The relatives cut their hair short, wept, and fasted. A mourning ritual included attempts at suicide, which friends prevented. The women sang songs in praise of the dead. Anniversary ceremonies, held at varying intervals, were intended to appease evil spirits and to aid the soul on its long journey to the hereafter.

[767] Shamans invoke the soul in order to discover who was responsible for 769 the death and to ascertain future needs. About a year after death the *Mosquito* hold an elaborate anniversary ceremony, in which face masks and other paraphernalia are employed. The *Sumo* have similar ceremonies which differ in detail. Formerly, a *Mosquito* woman exhumed the bones of her husband and carried them in a bag for a year, subsequently hanging them in the house. She might not remarry for 2 years.

770 According to Von Hagen (1943), *Jicaque* death and burial customs are a curious mixture of Christianity and their own beliefs. After some preliminary mourning the body, clothed in the garments in which the person died, is wrapped in cloth or bark cloth and buried in the cemetery. A small wooden cross is put at the foot of the grave, and a pot through which a hole is punched is laid at the head. The cemetery is an enclosure on a hilltop, which is walled off, as are Spanish cemeteries.

WARFARE

721 Most of the information concerning warfare pertains to the *Mosquito*, who were highly organized for this purpose. Undoubtedly much of this